2: Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7
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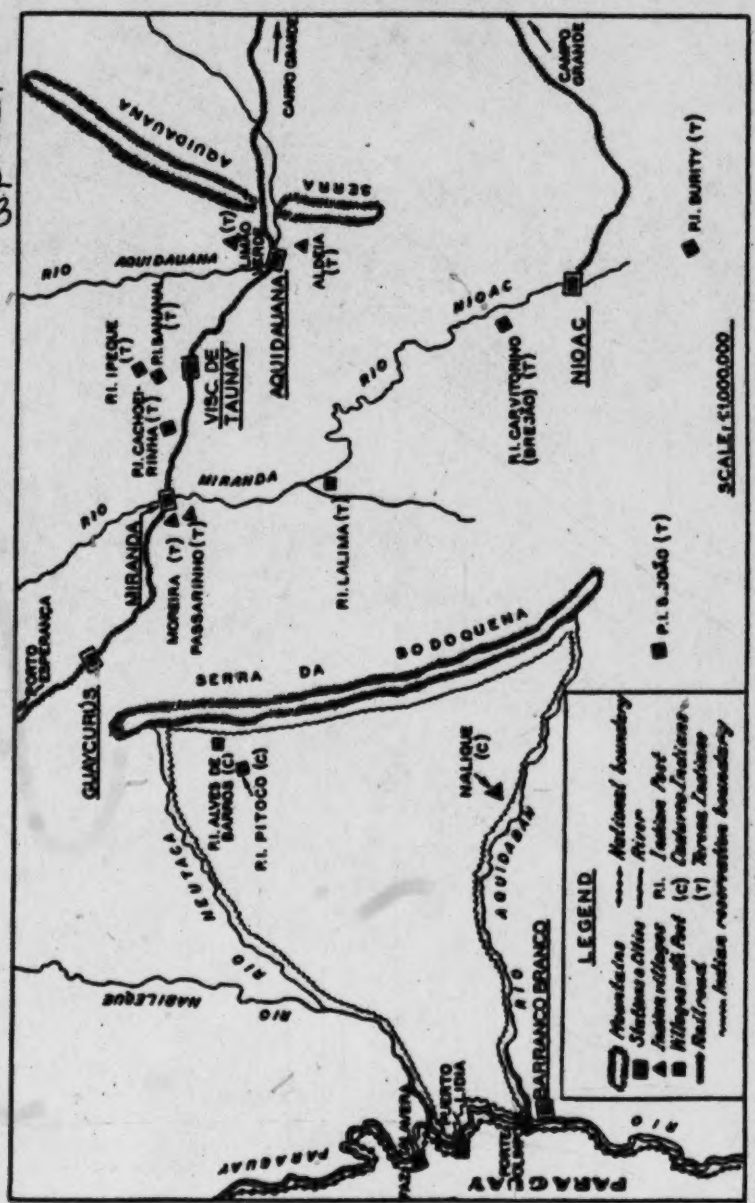

Map 2.—Part of southern Mato Grosso, showing location of Terena and Caduveo villages. The population of the important Terena villages under the control of Posts in 1946 was as follows: Brazil or Tunuy, 600; Cachoeirinha, 450; Ipegue, 500; Cha. Vitorino, 350; Buriti, 470 (overwhelmingly of which are Terena); Lalima, 350 (half of which are Terena); São João, 60 (Terena and Kadiéus mixed). The remainder of the Terena are located in independent villages like Limão Verde, Aldeia, Moreira, Passarinho, and in the small Posts in São Paulo State. The total Terena population is estimated at 5,000. The population of the three Caduveo villages of Alves de Barros, Pitoco, and Nalique is not constant, owing to the nomadic habits of the Caduveo. The total population is estimated at 125. (For P. I. Ipegue on map, read P. I. Ipegue.)

[P. 7]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing and hunting supply only a negligible amount of food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic history of the Terena in the last hundred years. The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts:

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[2] The village is called "Banaaal" by the Terena.

[P. 15-A]

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá. 105 177 [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs. 105 177 182

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials. [616]

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions. 105 [162] [648] [628]

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman [594] [596] [591] [648] [361] [771] [526]

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Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress,
142 wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
191 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

/10 cont./
121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[348] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[344] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society, as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

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114 of Cachoeirinha, because this is one of the communities most
121 representative of the Terêna world, which we selected, of course,
101 after an analysis of the "survey" in question. In 1957, during the months of October and November, we returned to the field and were able to revisit seven of the eleven aldeas previously
[162] studied, including Cachoeirinha. In the following year, in July
[103] and August, we returned to Mato Gross with the aim of studying that portion of the Terêna population that, having left its communities of origin, /14/ lived in cities, such as Campo Grande,
[361] Aquidauana, and Miranda. At this time, we became acquainted with the twelfth Terêna community, known by the name of Aldeinha and situated in a suburban area of the city of Aquidauana.
114 Thus, altogether, we devoted about eight months to field research, divided in such a way as to allow for the preparation of two studies: one on O Processo de Assimilição dos Terêna, as a whole, and another referring specifically to the aldea of Cachoeirinha, set up along the lines of a "community study." As for this latter projected work, we hope to publish it some day, possibly following a new stay in the aldea, when we shall be able to ascertain the results of certain changes (2) that were foreshadowed in 1955

> 2. In a short communication (1958, b) we had the opportunity to deal at greater length with Cachoeirinha, studying it from a demographic and ecological point of view.

and that became apparent in 1957 and 1958.

114 The present essay is thus chiefly the result of the "survey"
121 referred to above, of the work of historical reconstruction (initiated in the first half of 1955), and of our third trip to the field. The data obtained in Cachoeirinha in the course of the first two trips, which were superior qualitatively and quantitatively to those gathered in the other aldeas, served as elements of comparison and control for the other material, since these last communities

Terena
Guarani SM4
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the present century, we might note the Kinikináu (Guaná) and the Ofaié-Xavante. The former still maintained an aldea by the Agaxi River, from which they dispersed, expelled from their lands by a civilizado who supposedly purchased them from the state of Mato Grosso; its remaining members are found today in some Terêna aldeas. Of the latter, some survivors (10 persons) were encountered in 1948 by Darcy Ribeiro, who describes them as a group of individuals wandering through the region, without fixed abode and without purpose, at the mercy of the availability of work on neighboring fazendas: "... this is a tribe that still numbered one thousand persons at the beginning of the century and is, today, reduced to this group and, possibly, to some two others in the same circumstances." (Cf. Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:107.)

G 175 [361] [648] [162]

C 161 [361]

G. Gi M 161

Nevertheless, in contrast to the Kadiwéu and to a greater extent than the Kaiwá, the Terêna population has been increasing appreciably, a phenomenon that characterizes them as one of the few indigenous populations in Brazilian territory with a /20/ favorable demographic index (4). It should also

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4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

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It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

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The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

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Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

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101 designation "Guanás" respectively by Taunay (1931:16) and Castelnau (1949:308), refer in all probability to the names of separate local groups, though of the same tribe of the "Guanás" or Exoaladi.--As for the variation encountered in the names of the other Guaná subgroups, consult the already mentioned Max Schmidt, Metraux (1946:239-40), and Altenfelder (1949:271-72, note 1), the latter only as the Terêna are concerned.

101 /27/ "Niguecactemic" tribe, referred to by the 18th-century
[174] chroniclers, seems never to have crossed the Paraguay River to the east, but to have remained in the Chaco until its
[162] disappearance. At the close of the 18th century, its number fluctuated between 200 and 300 individuals, according to the estimates of Aguirre (17) and Azara (18) respectively. Already

17. "Diário de Aguirre" /Aguirre's Diary/, 1911, p. 309, in Metraux, 1946:240.

18. 1809, II:86-88.

at that time the "Niguecactemic" were a small group which the following century, to judge by the chroniclers consulted, did not hear of again.

174 The other Guaná groups referred to above (Terêna,
165 Layâna, Kinikináu, and Exoaladi) crossed the Paraguay River
[131] in successive waves, beginning with the second half of the 18th century, and settled in the area watered by the Miranda River, between the parallels of 19° and 21° of latitude, where

[For bibliography, see category 116, pp. 155-160 of foreign text--Analyst].

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175 the close of the 18th century, numbered about 3,000 individuals
161 according to Azara's record.(23) In the middle of the last
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23. 1809, II:86-88.

century, Castelnau (24) and Taunay (25) noted the same number

24. 1949:302.

25. 1948:267.

161 as representative of the regional Terêna population. Today
162 the latest estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios gives
3,800 individuals as the total of the Terêna aldeas. But if we were to compute the innumerable families scattered through the fazendas of the region, and even in the cities, this number
161 might rise to 4,500 or 5,000. As will readily be seen, the Terêna not only managed to maintain a relative demographic stability--which would in itself have been highly promising, in view of the Brazilian indigenous picture--, but even managed to increase in number and steadily continue in this direction.

/29/ II. The Nature of Intertribal Interaction

121 It is not possible to understand the culture of the Guaná
648 groups without considering the relations that were established between them and the Mbayá-Guaikurú groups. Even in a
[175] brief account of the traditional culture of the Terêna, it is necessary to bear this aspect in mind, along with the problem encountered by the researcher in reconstructing the tribal culture, since the information left by the chroniclers--as we already had the occasion to mention in the preceding chapter--
[101] are quite fragmentary. This is the reason why we shall deal

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Indians. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, in 1791, writes in a letter addressed to the Governor of the Province, João Albuquerque de Mello Pereira e Cáceres, the following: "With them (the Guaikurú) are allied the Guanãas; the Payaguás, out of the fear they have of them, take great care not to lose their friendship. All the others are their daily prey, whom they reduce to slavery." (Ms.)

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treated as independent communities, with their own territory and chiefs; which did not preclude the fact, however, that Guaná families were found among the Guaikurú themselves, who in the latter's aldeas, voluntarily or as the result of some intertribal conflict, had been led to be enlisted in the way of life of that seignorial group. (39)

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39. Herbert Baldus, in his timely and penetrating introduction to the Brazilian version of Boggiani's Os Caduveo /The Caduveo/, analyzes and classifies Guaikurú-Guaná relations as being of the symbiotic type, which seems to us to be true and for the documentation of which theory this chapter has been written. Thus, Baldus writes: "This symbiosis continued side by side with stratification and must not be regarded in any way as first steps of it. Although sometimes

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/34 cont./ fort, the Guaná maintained a special position--as can be seen from this statement by Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra: "These 600 Guaná are those who live by themselves, settled in aldeas and united into one group in the said Albuquerque ranges; and even though they are thus separate from the Uaicurús, they live ever bound to them, and sharing their lot. Some pass into the Uaicurú group, and the children that are born among them become like them (i.e., like Guaikurú--RCO)."(42) The

42. 1845:209.

The chronicler shows, in the first place, the independence of the Guaná local group; in the second place, the occurrence of movements on the part of some Guaná members to Guaikurú communities, into which they end up perfectly integrated, as we can see from this other passage: "The pride and competitiveness of the Uaicurús is such, that it is instilled into the Guanás themselves as soon as they go to live with, or are born amongst, the arrogant Uaicurús, treating others with contempt, and general superiority..."(43) And as for those Guaná, already

43. Ibidem.

mentioned, who remained close to the Guaikurú but without giving up their community, here is a further observation by Almeida Serra as he tries to draw a comparison between the captives taken by the Guaikurú and the Guaná: "The captives eventually do not scorn this system (the favorable circumstances they enjoyed among the Guaikurú--RCO), but like it; only the Guaná who live apart and by themselves, and in their own ranchos and outside the Uaicurú villages, after further communication with the Portuguese, are ashamed of it...," when called "captives" by the Portuguese.(44) /35/ It is plain that,

44. 1850:372.

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 It cannot be stated with Rattray-Hay's certainty, in his
535 passage cited above, that the old ceremonial division between
178 Xumonó and Sukirikionó still regulated strictly secular festivals such as the "bate-pau dance" or the "race of the little horses." We were able to ascertain in Cachoeirinha that for the composition of the "Harará-iti" and "Hononó-iti" groups the Xumonó and Sukirikionó distinctions were not respected. This means that, if these moieties functioned in the regulation of the Kohixoti-kipahé in Rattray-Hay's time and in Bananal, nowadays in Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal itself (aldeas that still organize these dances with some regularity) the moieties no longer regulate either the playful or ceremonial activities.
[177] Today they are reduced to a mere tradition, which is under-
[162] standable in view of the fact that it would have been impossible for them to retain their original function /50/ (regulation of marriage) or even those that followed (ceremonial and playful), as the old social structure gradually broke down through the process of acculturation, which intensified with the rise of neo-Brazilian nuclei in the vicinities of the aldeas.

593 Still on the subject of social structure, other aspects are deserving of notice. The first refers to the emphasis laid by the tribe on the solidarity of the group of brothers and sisters, in accordance with the principle of the unity of the "sibling"
601 group, formulated by Radcliffe-Brown. (78) If we analyze

78. Cf. 1952:64-67.

the kinship terminology of the Terêna, for example, we find that the terms used for brothers (sisters)--whether Ego is male or female--are applicable to both parallel and cross cousins.
601 This would lead to the impossibility of marriage within the
582 "sibling" group, i.e., among consanguineal relatives in Ego's generation, which constitutes an additional marriage-regulation
[178] technique aside from the moieties and strata. This, incidentally, permits us to classify the Guaná-Terêna kinship system as

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idea of the impetus given in a quarter century, from 1914 to 1940, to the settlement of these regions, it will be sufficient to note that the population of the four municípios of Três Lagoas (15,378 inhabitants), Campo Grande (49,629), Aquidauana (20,949), and Miranda (14,126) climbed during this period to more than 100,000 inhabitants, or more than five times the population estimated before the construction of the railroad." (Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:131-132.)

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/62/ The importance of these nuclei to the Terêna population (108)

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108. Of the Guaná groups, aside from the Terêna, who survived, as a group, up to the first decade of this century, there were the Kinikináu, who up to 1908 had an aldea by the Agaxi River. In 1925 there were no more than 15 individuals there, detribalized and about to move to Lalima.

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cannot be over-emphasized: these neo-Brazilian settlements became most potent foci of attraction to the Terêna and, thus, began to act more intensely as agencies of culture change. In this sense, the relations between Miranda and Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Lalima aldeas (especially the last)

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175 are very instructive, as are those between Aquidauana and the
177 Terêna communities of Limão Verde and Aldeinha. In the
[36] following chapters we shall see in more detail the influence of
[128] these cities[2] on the way of life of the members of those indigenous communities. For now, let us go on to analyze--on the basis of the chroniclers--the nature of the contacts that were established between these waves of penetration from our society and the regional Terêna population.

175 Strictly speaking, the first references we have on the
177 Terêna are provided by Sanches Labrador, who tells us that they
797 had already, at that time (mid-18th century), received in their aldeas a Jesuit padre. (109) Up to this time, they were the most isolated of the Guaná groups.

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109. "In the Chanás settlement I found two men who were with their wives and children, all Terênas and brothers of the Chanás. I noted the language of their nation. I asked them if they knew of any Christians close to their lands, or if they had come to them? They answered yes ... and that in times past they had been close to their land: and pointing to the Guaranís who were present, they added: they were dressed like these, and with necklaces (rosaries) like those around the neck. This must have occurred when the Venerable Padre Castanhares with the Zamuco Indians came close to the settlement of the Terênas, or, as they call themselves, Telenoé." (1910, II:274-75.)

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[2] [ie. the neo-Brazilian cities of Miranda and Aquidauana -- Author]

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isolated of the Guaná groups. According to Azara--who got information on them in the same century--the Terêna were represented by two groups, one still living in the Chaco, near the Kinikináu, the other "east of the Paraguay River, below the 21° parallel, on a chain of small mountains that they called 'Echatiyá,' and east of another called 'Nogoná'." (110) Never-

110. 1809, II:87.

theless, we cannot know which of these groups had received the missionary or whether, at the time referred to by the Terêna informants (cf. note 109) all of them were still in the Chaco--
175 which seems to be more probable. Still in the 18th century--
177 at its close--there is some information /63/ we owe to Alexandre
797 Rodrigues Ferreira according to which a Guaná aldea had been visited by a religious; (111) the local group referred to as having

111. Rodrigues Ferreira relates that Padre João Joseph Gomes da Costa, with an escort of 45 soldiers, "left on 13 February last (1791), and having traveled downriver for two and a half days, disembarked at a port on the east bank of the (Paraguay) river, where he mounted a horse and proceeded inland for about a quarter of a league, and there found the first quarters. From these he went eight leagues to the east, the second one, which was called "of the Guimarães." Five leagues further on in the same direction, he reached the third, which was of the Guaicurus." (Ms., sheets 3 and 4.)

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120. "The Quiquináus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of
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Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

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648 population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite
184 role in the regional trade.
439 It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
177 tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the
184 catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikináu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

175 Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze
648 the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay
184 --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikináus,
167 and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families...
[361] at Bonito. The Kinikináus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range...." (121)
Rel. 1948:268.

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175 plain that tops that range...." (121) Elsewhere, he says: "The
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121. 1948:268.

Guanás, Kinikináus, and Laianos showed their solidarity toward us; whereas the Terenas watched us furtively from afar." (122)

122. 1931:269.

As can be seen, here too, i.e., in the episode of the Paraguayan war, when all the regional population sought to unite to defend themselves against the common enemy (for the Paraguayans attacked them all), the Terêna continued to remain apart, seeking an isolation no longer possible. Only after some time, in a war that lasted five years, did the Terêna finally join the fleeing population and participate in the warfare. (123)

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123. "In the various encampments of the (Maracaju) range, large and comfortable ranchos were built, and little by little the way of life of those hybrid colônias of Brazilian civilizados and Indians, especially Kinikináus, who had been joined by Guanás, Terenas, and Laianos, became regularized. (Taunay, 1931:35; cf. also p. 33, on the participation of these Indians in the guerrilla warfare that was then underway.)

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175 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretch-
162 ing from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
175 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply en-
537 graved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[796] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[269] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades), that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its history. (124)

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124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

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Philosophy of the University of São Paulo formulates with great acuity the problems of the relationship between history and the awareness of history in "primitive groups."

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Another important episode in the history of the relations between the Terêna and our society was the passage of Rondon through the region where they were found distributed in a situation of extreme dependence on the neighboring big

B [653] fazendeiros and "colonels." (125) At the head of the Tele-

125. Cf. note 105.

graphic Lines Commission--whose task was to connect the capital with the southern regions of Mato Grosso--, Rondon also took note of the indigenous populations he encountered wherever he passed through installing telegraphic posts. Thus

G [341] he observes while building the Miranda branch, "the line crossed right through the former Quiniquinau aldea, today

G [162] abandoned and already invaded by fazendeiros who took over these lands." (126) Incidentally, this statement well shows

126. Missão Rondon, 1949:81.

how the Kinikinâu had disappeared: as they were robbed of their lands, they dispersed through the fazendas or through the aldeas of their Terêna brethren. (127) And let it be emphasized

127. Cf. note 108.

with what difficulty the Terêna would have survived if their lands too--at least the lands they now occupy--, had been taken from them.

3:Oliveira--96 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Historical Brazil SL2
Brazil SL1

/68 cont./

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gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas, without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

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At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock, the principal one being the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...." (129)

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129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

/70 cont./

178 554 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna communities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its [184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have 121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall 128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

/71/

V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that 36 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks [167] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as [162] a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time [162] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering [103] perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a [162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Back, 1916:90.

/73 cont./

their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas. The history of interethnic relations records that a large number of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit, moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa, immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

By municípios, we can note the following: Município of Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município: Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12 communities, which will be the subject of ecological characterization in the present chapter, we might point out two other communities which are totally or partially made up of Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reservation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter, Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos. Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard

/74 cont./

162 619 574 themselves as members of an indigenous group as long as they can identify their relatives who live in aldeas, and visit them at the time of the "national holidays" of the tribe. But the 128 situation of these families, along with that of those who live in the cities, will be examined in Chapter VII, when we shall study Terêna mobility as a factor of economic integration and as a function of the assimilation process.

We shall now endeavor to give an idea of each of the 12 aldeas visited, focusing on an ecological point-of-view, while--in the next chapter--we shall analyze their socio-cultural structures.

Cachoeirinha

361 Cachoeirinha is an aldea situated three and a half leagues from the city of Miranda and eight kilometers from the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada, a small station of the 162 Noroeste do Brasil railroad. The regional census carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in 1954, gave that aldea 834 inhabitants. (137) And if we compare the successive

[128] [125]

137. In a previous work we examined Cachoeirinha in greater detail, making use of demographic data gathered by us in 1957 in the field. We abstain from using them here so as not to impair the comparative analysis with the other Terêna communities, since for the latter we merely have census data up to 1954. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958 (b).

Cachoeirinha

174 cont./ And if we compare the successive
censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoerinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until it reached the figure obtained in 1954. Before 1919, we can only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed.... Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea, taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the community. Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands out. In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./ Finally, both in
361 Capão and in Argola, the land plots are situated close to the
241 ranchos, which gives these nuclei an appearance similar to that of small farming fazendas, their chief crops being manioc--with which they make flour--, maize, rice, moranga /Cucurbita maxima/, abóbora /gourds/, bananas, etc.

[621] Other areas of population concentration, such as Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante, and another score of ranchos scattered through the reservation are given the generic name of roças /farm plots/. This is due to the fact that the planted plots are adjacent to these ranchos, in contrast to the central nucleus,
[231] which does not have this. The presence of cattle in this central
[417] nucleus, along with pigs and chickens, loose in the aldea streets, prevents the families from having their planted plots close to the ranchos and compels them to have them in areas somewhat removed and duly protected with barbed wire fences.

● 162 The community is made up almost exclusively of Terêna
621 Indians. Taking the data of the census we carried out in 1957, as an illustration, we see that out of 907 inhabitants, 729 were Terêna, 16 were /77/ Kinikináu, and nine were Layâna, while the rest were mestizos, the fruits of interethnic and intertribal unions.

439 Trade between the native aldea and the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, such as Duque Estrada and Miranda, is rather active, owing to the lack of economic autonomy of
434 Cachoeirinha (like the other Terêna communities). With the
439 exception of a few families--such as those referred to above as
[556] "the rich," --whose members are not employed on the regional labor market, the rest subsist on the labor of the male element (father, husband, and brothers) whose salaries are channeled to the business houses of Duque Estrada, Agaxi, (140) and

[361]

140. Agaxi is a small settlement, even smaller than Duque Estrada, situated southeast of the reservation, next to the river of the same

/77 cont./ [Cachoeirinha]

361 name and with which a few
439 Capão families--whose ranchos border on the settlement--maintain trade relations.

434 especially Miranda, where they buy fat ("grease"), macaroni,
439 some meat, salt, etc., as well as clothes, occasional household equipment, and brandy, which is forbidden on the reser-
433 vations but is nevertheless found there. Unfortunately, we
128 have no data that would permit us to make an exact appraisal of the amount of the production of the aldea and its distribution through nuclear families. True, we could give estimates, but they would be of no comparative value since we could not carry
433 out the same procedure in relation to the other aldeas. It is sufficient for us to know that the production of most of the families (i.e., the production resulting from labor undertaken
[439] on their own lands) falls far short of their consumption. And we can illustrate this with the fact that a considerable number of families buy outside the aldea supplies such as manioc flour, which, in fact, is the principal product of the community.

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

62/ Passarinho and Moreira aldeas occupy two contiguous
[361] areas, situated in places near Miranda and have a total popu-
[162] lation of 239 persons. Like Cachoeirinha, these aldeas for
[166] some time have had an influx of families from other aldeas and fazendas, while they themselves have supplied Cachoeirinha
[162] with some individuals. In 1927, the population of Passarinho was estimated at 110 persons and that of /78/ Moreira at 98.
[361] At that time, Passarinho--the closer one--was two kilometers from Miranda; now, it can be said that both are no more than suburbs of the city, so bound to it are the lives of their members

178 cont./ [Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

621 and so close to them has the city come, by virtue of natural
[162] development and expansion. Nowadays, Passarinho and Moreira number, respectively, 109 and 130 inhabitants, who make up a relatively homogeneous population consisting largely of Terena Indians (who identify themselves as "pure"), mestizos, and an occasional neo-Brazilian.

439 The means of communication of these aldeas connect
366 them with Miranda by a small road, at the entry of which
[491] there is a "bolicho" (141) that supplies the Indians with hard-

[104]

141. "Bolicho" is a regional term applied to the small roadside stores that have in stock all kinds of merchandise, from food to cloth and iron tools.

648 ware and drinks. The native post, located in Passarinho, has
439 not been in operation for many years; suffice it to say that
366 the last man in charge of it was the owner of that "bolicho" and never lived in the aldea or duly attended to it: on the contrary, he made use of his position to improve his business, at the cost of the exploitation of the Indians and civilizados thereabout. (142) This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,

142. To give an idea of the role that was played by this individual in the native community, it is enough to say that at the time of our visit to those aldeas, no one knew him as the post superintendent, but he was rather well known as "the bolicheiro." Aside from

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

159 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was
875 the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

621 As the school grew, it developed into an aldea,
872 since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies.

[795] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União"
[162] includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

361 If we compare the three population nuclei of
312 Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation
628 of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which

[233] naturally displeases the Indians. The latter own cattle
[241] and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "do-
361 mestic farming." Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have
312

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./ reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells, of which there are not more than three for both villages; and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze the causes that led this local group to progress more than its neighbors, who are more numerous and who have lived much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socio-economic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

Lalima

Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurú, Kinikináu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwéu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the community. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

173 166 640 Rondon, at the time of the construction of the Mato Grosso telegraphic lines, that the Indians, scattered through the fazendas of the region, were called to occupy those lands, whose ownership was guaranteed them by the Rondon Mission. (144) While this report does not agree with the

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144. At that time, the aggressiveness and violence of the "fazendeiros" was felt more heavily by the native population. They burned the houses, and their farm plots were summarily destroyed. This was the situation found by Rondon in 1905 and which led him to take those attitudes referred to in the previous chapter.

data we obtained from an examination of the archives of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, it cannot be said that they contradict them; they state that the Indians who make up Lalima aldea are "Guaykuru Indians, very similar to the Cadiueus not only in the language they speak but also in their customs, even though they have never had friendly relations with the same; they inhabit Lalima aldea, which is nine leagues from Miranda, they live on

[648]

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

175 lands that were set aside for them by the Crown and that
162 have not yet been demarcated." (The italicization is
361 ours--RCO.) What can be deduced--taking both sources
648 into account--is that the Guaikurú local group, although already located there for a long time, probably since the 18th century, had not, until Rondon passed through that area, achieved a stable position, which they only attained fully with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

621 /81/ Those data, extracted from the Relatório Anual
162 /Annual Report/ (1919) of the Inspetoria /"Inspectorate"/
161 of Mato Grosso, give the aldea as populated by 130 per-
[175] sons, 25 families, and 20 ranchos; and, to judge by what the S. P. I. inspector wrote, it was a Guaikurú population. Yet, the 1925 census gave Lalima with a population of 261 individuals, which shows a fabulous increase, only explicable by the arrival of native contingents from other tribes, especially Kinikinău and Terêna. It seems that this was the time when Lalima reached its highest population. After this a decline began, the causes of which
621 are not easy to ascertain. In 1926, we had the following
16 demographic picture: previous population (1925), 261 inhabitants; Indians settled in the aldea during the year, 3; births, 6; Indians who moved to other aldeas, 24; deaths, 6; total in 1926, 240 persons. In the census of the following year, we have: births, 7; Indians who moved
621 out, 23; deaths, 4; total in 1927, 220 inhabitants. At
162 present, the official data sent to the Directoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios by the Inspetoria of Mato Grosso gives 256 individuals, although in our "survey" we registered 234 persons, broken down as follows: adult male

[Lalima]

/81 cont./

621 population, 51 persons; adult female, 53; under fourteen
162 years, male population, 68; under /fourteen/, female,
[166] 62. We have there a young population, with great possibilities for growth, in spite of the continual departure of families to other aldeas closer to Miranda, such as Passarinho and Cachoeirinha. (145)

[295]
[298]

145. The inhabitants of Lalima, "Catholic" by definition, avoid communities characterized as Protestant, such as União and Moreira, not to mention Banana!.

36/ The 3,600 hectares that make up the reservation are
[34] found concentrated in an area that is one of the most fertile in the region, bound on the north and east by Guanandi stream, on the south by Barreiro stream, and on the west by
36/ the right bank of the Miranda River. Like Cachoeirinha--
62/ and in the same manner as most Terena aldeas--, Lalima includes more than one population nucleus: a) Lalima proper consists of a cluster of 20 houses, nearly all of them
[348] laid out in one line and thus forming only one street; this cluster includes the building of the native post and the school, as well as the Catholic church, thus rating as the chief nucleus of the community; b) another cluster is called Campina /82/ and is characterized by being inserted in the area where the aldea farm plots lie, like the Argola and Capão nuclei of Cachoeirinha aldea; we counted
[233] 11 ranchos; c) finally there is Divisa, the name given to a

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

As for the production areas of the community, it can be said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikinâu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

/82 cont./
Bananal and Ipegue

361 Bananal and Ipegue are two contiguous aldeas, close to the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay, from which they are [491] respectively four and eight kilometers distant. They are [496] situated in the Aquidauana município, and between them and Cachoeirinha it is no more than four leagues, which can be traveled on /83/ an old road, cut through the woods, or by the Noroeste do Brasil railroad, which connects the Duque Estrada stations with Taunay's.

● 162 The first accurate census data available compel us to 621 deal with them as a unit, because they give the total population of the reservation--which is only one, comprising the two aldeas--, without differentiating between the local groups. Thus, in 1918, Bananal-Ipegue presented the following statistical picture: male population, under ten years, 137 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 133; from twenty-one to sixty years, 103; over sixty, 35 persons; female population, from zero to ten years, 100 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 67; from twenty-one to sixty, 140; over 166 sixty, 35; giving a total of 750 individuals. By this time there was a constant influx of Indians to Bananal and Ipegue, coming from "colônias" set up on the fazendas of Miranda and 161 Aquidauana municípios. And in spite of the departure of a 162 considerable number of individuals for Cachoeirinha, around 621 1920, (146) in 1926 a population of 1,330 individuals was

161 146. Consulting the 1921
166 report of the Mato Grosso
621 Inspetoria, we read: "The
[13] Indians keep coming in but
they already feel that
Bananal and Ipegue cannot
hold them much longer;
and they are shifting to

/83 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

161 Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W.
166 tells us that this influx is
621 also due to the inroads of
[795] Protestantism, which inci-
[578] dentally is limited to
Bananal alone"--and we
might add: due to the
internal conflicts emerging
from that situation.

161 registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including
162 Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in
621 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in
[184] 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is
interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a
homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered
separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and
161 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One
166 concludes that the population decrease occurred only in
621 Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic in-
184 crease, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts
578 in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who
166 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to
162 Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been
621 effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the
795 other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira
and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in
earlier pages.

361 /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna
621 aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of
[177] brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid
[342] out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in
[36] good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native
Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant
church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house,
as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central
311 nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant
175 part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very
621 important to an understanding of those migration movements
166 we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the
648 reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder
[114] da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall quote the following passage from this author on the history of
[162] the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families
[622] remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes, who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel
[423] Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands, probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there
[622] making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against
[797] the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

175 The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident.
621 After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time
797 in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal,
622 we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and his politico-religious activities.

5

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./ his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since continued to catechize the Terena. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea, on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I. A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/86 cont./
Limão Verde and Aldeinha

361 Strictly speaking, Limão Verde includes two aldeas:
621 Limão Verde proper and Córrego Sêco. Both occupy an area
162 of 2,500 hectares a few kilometers from Aquidauana. In 1927 there were 162 Indians living in the aldeas. Unfortunately this census, carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, does not specify the distribution of this population between the two aldeas. The 1954 census gives a population of 246 individuals and incurs the same imprecision as the previous one.

621 Limão Verde--we refer here to both aldeas--is the only
648 Terêna community whose lands have not been demarcated
[423] and /87/ despite some attempts by the S. P. I. to "reserve them," continue to belong to Aquidauana município. And up to now Limão Verde does not have its native post. Its
176 history goes back to a distant past. We were told that the
621 community has existed since the Paraguayan war and that it was founded by a man called João Dias, a bandeirante from São Paulo. This bandeirante lived with a Terêna Indian woman, at the place where Aquidauana is today; he was granted his glebe for the foundation of the city, moving to Morrinho, one league northwest of Aquidauana. He worked in the place called Córrego Sêco, one league from Morrinho, with cattle and farm plots. After his death, his sons left Morrinho and went to settle in Córrego Sêco and at the place called Limão
175 Verde. The captain of Limão Verde--where a small con-
621 centration of Terêna Indians must have already existed--was
622 the famous Lutuma, known throughout the region for his deeds in the Paraguayan war. With his death, his position was left vacant, and João Dias took advantage of this to seize the chiefship of the aldea. But he never lived in Limão Verde. His son, Daniel Dias, when he inherited the "captain's" post, moved to Limão Verde. The Dias family scattered through Córrego Sêco and Limão Verde and, today, the "captain" of both nuclei is Sebastião Dias, grandson of Daniel.

/87 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

162 Among all the Terêna communities, it seems that Limão
621 Verde is the one with the most diversified ethnic composition. Probably even more so than Lalima. In the Limão Verde nucleus alone there are 10 neo-Brazilian families and two Paraguayan ones, aside from many mestizos of Terêna origin. In Córrego Sêco, however, there are only Terêna families, undoubtedly
621 owing to its more isolated geographic position. As in Bananal,
798 there are in Limão Verde serious conflicts of politico-religious
797 origin. In the community (as in the other Terêna aldeas), North American Redemptorist padres work hard at the religious proselytism of their members. Also Protestants, of the same Bananal group, endeavor to convert Indians, Paraguayans, and neo-Brazilians to their creed. The result of this has been the division of the small Limão Verde nucleus into Catholics and Protestants and the identification of Córrego Sêco as a Catholic nucleus (in the same way as Ipegue).

162 Going from Aquidauana to Limão Verde, one passes
361 through three population nuclei: in the first place, Morrinho,
368 where we found several /88/ bolichos, among which that of the
871 "Paraguayan" was the biggest and the best supplied; in this nucleus we did not find Indians and it would be more fitting to describe it as a neo-Brazilian settlement, with a rural school and Catholic church; in the second place, one passes through Limão Verde proper, where we found two churches, one Catholic and the other Protestant; both serve also as schools, with a school of the municipality operating in the first and one of the
[875] Protestant mission itself in the second; in both, the teaching body is made up exclusively of Indians and mestizos (it should be emphasized that the município teacher is Pascoal Dias, nephew of old Daniel); finally, one reaches Córrego Sêco, whose children--in truth very few--attend the Limão Verde schools.

439 Limão Verde, comprising both nuclei, prefers to sell its products to Aquidauana, where they fetch better prices, although it also maintains trade relations with the neo-Brazilian

[Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

/88 cont./ settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for export are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unrefined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And, in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the non-native members of the community. We would venture to say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most widely spoken language.

In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people of Aldeinha.

In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião, and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the insistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis." Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and purposes the head of the community, says that immediately after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers." Whether the persons who went to live there were already Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 621 797 795 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all probability, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It [622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 621 [144] With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is Kinikinâu (one not being included). It should be explained 101 829 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 648 [241] [462] It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city, that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

[Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

/90 cont./

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[293] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /título/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

[Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

/90 cont./ A document of the

175 361 621 [162] Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, dated 1919, reports that the Terêna in Captain Vitorino's group (the uncle of the present "Captain") occupied an area two leagues from the city of Nioac and showed a population of some 200 individuals, scattered through 11 ranchos; the same document estimates at 1,000 persons the number of those who, up to that time, had /91/ spread through the fazendas atop the Maracaju range. (149) "Captain" Vitorino tells us that the present-day

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149. Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso /Annual Report of the Mato Grosso Inspectorate/, Archives of the S. P. I., for 1919.

aldea of Brejão was founded in 1904, when he and his family, seeking a wooded area, abandoned the old Laranjal aldea, close to the present one and also within the reservation. The [166] [648] "Captain" says--and documents prove him right--that that move of 2,000 Indians to the fazendas atop the range was due to pressure of the neighboring fazendeiros who wanted by any manner or means to take over the Terêna lands. After the 175 621 area had been made into a reservation by Decree of 1922, 648 only in 1925 was the native post established, thanks to Colonel Nicolau Horta Barbosa, at the time inspetor for Mato Grosso. [162] Data from the annual report of that inspetor for the year following the creation of the post list 178 Indians, among whom 16 had settled in the aldea in that year. The flow of [166] those Indians to Brejão (a small part) and to the aldeas of Buriti and Francisco Horta was beginning, as we shall see further on. Thus, the 1954 census gives 202 inhabitants, a rather [162] small number, considering the size of the reservation.

361 621 Like the other Terêna aldeas, Brejão is divided into "bairros": the central nucleus, called the Captain Vitorino

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 628 346 825 they erected a spacious shed and left there a teacher, at a salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a month, recruited from the Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 621 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community, it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia," Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements. It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho." [439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia," but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians, 439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close contact and intensive trade relations with the native community. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/, and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it 241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community plants for its own consumption the following species: rice, /sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts. 797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community [346] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that on the reservation there is no building that might be called a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics. As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission, 177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture change in the community are limited to the post, practically

/92 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

177 controlled by "Captain" Vitorino and his daughter, both rather closely tied to the regional way of life; the new teacher of the Água Branca school; the above-mentioned Redemptorist padres; and, outside the community, but no less effective, Monte Alto and Nioac.

Buriti

175 Among Terêna aldeas, Buriti is that most recently formed.
621 /93/ Nevertheless, it is not easy to pinpoint the time when
162 Terêna Indians were first to be found there. There are indi-
[101] cations that the place called Invernada do Buriti was occupied by Ofaié-Xavante Indians (151) who abandoned that spot,

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151. The Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for 1927 says the following: "In fulfillment of my duties as Inspetor of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in this state, and in order to attend to the insistent requests of some Indians living at the place called Invernada do Buriti, on the boundary of the Fazenda de Correntes, município of Aquidauana, whose aldeamento, from what they tell us, has existed there for more than 35 years, on lands which they claim belong to the state, I ask you in accordance with the terms of Articles 90 and 95, Ch. VI

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 621 648 423 of the consolidation of lands, mines, and colonization, Decree No. 130, of June 4, 1902, that you should see fit to designate as a reservation for the above-mentioned Indians an area of 4,000 hectares, or whatever may be feasible, adapting the circumstances relating to these lands with the minimum necessary so that they will have some land on which to live and work. It is held that there is a band of vacant lands on the boundaries of Fazenda Correntes that by being occupied by Xavante Indians, who preceded the present ones, was not included in the measuring carried out on this fazenda in 1896." (The italics are ours--RCO.)--For an idea of the history of these Ofaié-Xavante, see Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:109.

● [162]

175 621 probably owing to pressure by the fazendeiros of the region.

It is quite possible that the present aldea of Buriti was [162] established by Terêna Indian survivors of those who, during [166] the Paraguayan war, took refuge atop the Maracaju range [648] (to whom we have already referred in the previous chapter); or possibly also, by part of the Terêna from Buriti, former 175 members of the Brejão (or Laranjal) local group. At any rate, 361 up to 1913, at Invernada do Buriti, there was no Terêna aldea, as can be deduced from the map made at that time by Curt

[Buriti]

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175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
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152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
175 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
621 do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[162] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[233] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927
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153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population.

[Buriti]

/95 cont./ for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives; b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito, subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos, with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.

By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably alongside the Kaiwá.

/99 cont./

121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited
[184] [621] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing among communities, insofar as, for example, ethnic composition or even antiquity itself is concerned.

184 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand,
162 621 the following aldeas: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue, Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors

158. It is possible to include in this same category São João aldea: with Terêna and Kinikináu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

of already extinct groups such as the Kinikináu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the aldeas are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 As for the second variable, we might imagine a
175 "gradient" /100/ in which we would have at one extreme
621 Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti,
177 Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani aldea no earlier than 1917. The time when the aldea was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of
[164] the communities to change. The older communities, such as
[166] those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

/113 cont./

121 this social group from others." (180) This second formulation

180. Ibid.

of the concept of acculturation will permit us to use it in the dynamic analysis of the Terêna population settled in aldeas, whereas the concept of social mobility proves adequate to an analysis of the Terêna who reside in the cities. This does not mean that the latter are exempt from culture change; it merely /114/ means that they are no longer subject to the mechanisms that govern a particular type of culture change, which we call acculturation.

177 621 The acculturation process to which the Terêna population is subjected (we refer to the population that is settled in aldeas, i.e., that has a communal life) has had different results as a consequence of the variations encountered among the communities as a whole. Let us take ethnic composition and antiquity--incidentally, variables noted at the beginning of the previous chapter--and we shall see how they have in- 184 fluenced the cultural configuration of the communities. The 177 aldeas of multiple ethnic composition, such as Lalima, 621 Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, tend to be much [162] more open to innovations, whereas the others, although they cannot be regarded as closed, show greater resistance to those techniques and ideologies that come from the outside. (181)

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181. We are using these concepts, although in an unorthodox manner, in the sense in which they appear in the already-mentioned 1953 document on acculturation. (Cf. 1954:975-976.)

[166] The analysis of antiquity, in turn, as a category that permits

/119 cont./

184 It is impossible to exaggerate, on the other hand, the
177 distance existing between the aldea Terêna and those who are
369 scattered in the cities or fazendas, when we discuss their positions in the process of assimilation. Both are subjected to the same socio-cultural mechanisms that operate in this process, although the latter tend to react more favorably, especially when they belong to the second or third generation. Incidentally, these mechanisms will be examined in the final chapter of this work. First, however, we shall try to characterize this non-aldea population in order to ascertain whether it is legitimate to take it as a variant of the process of assimilation.

121 The greatest difficulty met with by the ethnologist in
162 working with a population scattered through an area as extensive
369 as that occupied by the detribalized Terêna, (189) concerns

189. The term detribalized designates that Terêna population that is not settled in aldeas and that lives on fazendas and in cities. Although detribalization may refer to a "condition" (as in the present case), it frequently indicates a "process," whenever we are considering a given population that lives independently from the local groups, although it may be connected with them in certain aspects; strictly speaking, the local group or the native community has no direct control and very little indirect control, over this population.

/119 cont./

[121] of course the possibility of direct contact, at least as a substi-
[162] tute for participant observation, which has now become alto-
[369] gether inadequate. To make such contact possible, the
appropriate measure was to reduce the area, while taking care
[101] not to distort the reality to be studied. Thus, we focused the
investigation on the cities of Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and
Miranda, leaving aside Nioac and the small settlements (with
one or two Terêna families) as well as the fazendas--in view
of the long distances involved, of the small amount of time
available, and of other minor difficulties. Concerning Nioac,
the information we had indicated that the number of Terêna
families living there was insignificant, although slightly higher
than in Miranda, which in turn has not more than eight families,
comprising altogether 54 individuals. (190) As for the fazendas,

[62] 190. We are considering only the Terêna who live in the city, not including the inhabitants of Passarinho and Moreira, suburban aldeas of Miranda.

we were acquainted with the situation of the Terêna living in
/120/ some of them in the município of Miranda. This, at
least, permitted us to visualize some problems, already men-
tioned in Chapter VI, when we dealt with the Terêna "colônia"
[125] near Duque Estrada. However, just to get an idea of how wide-
ly the Terêna are distributed through southern Mato Grosso, we
made an estimate of their numbers, in one município alone--
that of Aquidauana: living in the city there are 12 families,
a total of 67 individuals (this datum is exact, for we carried
out a thorough census); adding this to the probable number of
individuals living in the farms, fazendas, and colônias, which
add up to about 315 persons or 43 families, we have a total of

/120 cont./

121 382 individuals organized into 55 families. (191) In order to

191. As for the census of the city, we naturally excluded Aldeinha, whose population was already mentioned in Chapter V. The estimate of the number of Terêna living on fazendas was done on the basis of information supplied by Indians of Aldeinha, who listed the families and, with us, figured out the number of their members.

121 125 369 In order to study the urbanized Terêna alone (192)--owing not so much

192. The term urbanized refers to that part of the detribalized Terêna population that lives in cities. The same distinction emphasized in Note 189 regarding the dual meaning of the concept, as a "condition" and as a "process," must be extended to urbanization. This second meaning would permit the formulation of a research project aiming to measure the degree of variation between families or generations, according to their greater or lesser incorporation into the patterns of behavior of the city. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958(a).)

/120 cont./
121 to their relatively high numbers, but to their dispersion--we
125 had to rely on sociographic techniques such as the giving of
369 questionnaires and the carrying out of interviews, along previously worked out lines, aside from the use of "life histories" and "case" studies. (193)

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193. The giving of questionnaires and some of the interviews were carried out by our colleague, Dalton Moreira de Araújo, who accompanied us to the cities, Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, during the second half of June and the first half of July, 1958, as a research assistant.

121 Once the area had been reduced, an investigation was
125 made to find out whether this urbanized population could be
369 regarded as representative of the world of the Terêna living
162 in cities. Through interviews with innumerable Terêna of Campo Grande and Aquidauana, it became evident that these cities were the centers of the largest Terêna concentration, especially the former, with its 16 families or 121 individuals. Thus, in decreasing population order, we have Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, on a "gradient" that expresses the significance of these centers as foci of /121/ attraction. This gradient led us to dispense with Nioac and the smaller settlements along the railroad line, since it showed that there is a correlation between the size of the cities (in area and population) and the number of Terêna Indians who reside in them. This strengthened the objectivity of the data obtained through indirect means about Nioac, according to which that town had a Terêna population equivalent to that of Miranda. The conclusion we reached was that we would be working with more

/121 cont./

121 than 80 per cent of the urbanized Terêna population, or, in
125 absolute figures, with 242 individuals or 36 families. It must
319 be pointed out, however, that among these 242 individuals,
162 not all can be considered "pure" Terêna; these, or rather, the offspring of a Terêna father and mother, do not number more than 120 individuals; the rest are divided in the following way: interethnic mestizos (offspring of interethnic unions) 102, intertribal mestizos (offspring of intertribal unions) 5, "Purutuya" 11 (whites 5, negroes 6), Guaikuru 2, Paraguayans 1, and 1 individual of unidentified ethnic origin. But, on the other hand, it is no less legitimate to deal with all of them as belonging to a single group, since they are all part of the same network of social relations, since the 36 families registered are identified as Terêna by themselves and by their Brazilian neighbors, regardless of the fact that the "head of the house" himself may be a "Purutuya" (usually a caboclo /mestizo/, if not a Negro) or a Paraguayan.

319 A painstaking analysis of the ethnic picture in these
162 three cities shows that the relations between the urban and communal structures (both, of course, structures with an indigenous content) show asymmetrical profiles when compared among themselves in terms of cross-breeding data. While in the aldeas (taking Cachoeirinha as an example) the interethnic mestizos add up to 37.83 per cent and the intertribal mestizos to 62.16 per cent, thus presenting a higher index of intertribal mestizos, in the cities we have the reverse, if we take the total of the urbanized mestizo population: 95.32 per cent of interethnic mestizos and 4.67 per cent of intertribal mestizos, i.e., an obvious majority of interethnic mestizos. (194)

194. These percentages obviously do not indicate the number of mestizos (a) or (b) in relation to those of other ethnic origins.

/121 cont./

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162 As for this aspect, it can be said that, of the total urbanized population, 53.71 per cent are mestizos (a) and (b); at present in Cachoeirinha, the index of mestizos (a) and (b) is scarcely 16.31 per cent.

369 The /122/ importance of this will be examined in the next
162 chapter, when we shall deal with interethnic unions as the
582 preferential type of marriage in the cities.

369 The analysis of the origin of this urbanized population,
167 as a whole, discloses that the fazendas are the greatest sources of individuals for the cities, with 23.55 per cent; in second place is the aldea of Bananal, with 13.63 per cent, and in third place, the aldea of Ipegue, with 10.33 per cent. The percentage of persons born in the cities themselves is 33.05 per cent, and the rest of the population originated from small settlements such as Agaxi or Taunay and from aldeas like Lalima and Brejão, whose individual totals are very low and represent insignificant indices. If we bear in mind the low percentage of individuals born in the urban zones (33.05 per cent) as compared with the 66.94 per cent of people who came from the rural zone or from the aldeas, we can conclude that this urbanized population is relatively new. And regarding
167 the Terêna who emigrated from the aldeas, one notes that
369 they tend to keep up their respective local groups, forming
621 more or less cohesive nuclei in the cities where they live. In Aquidauana, for example, this separation is clear: aside from Aldeinha--which is suburban to the town--the Terêna live in two other places called respectively "Guanandi" and "Buraco Quente /hot hole/"; whereas in the former there live 11 persons who came from Ipegue and only one who came from Bananal, in the latter there live 10 persons from Bananal

/122 cont./

167 and only one from Ipegue. This attests the importance of the
369 local group in the migratory movements of the Terêna, with
621 their tendency to survive wherever their members emigrate,
[[65]] whether to cities or to other aldeas--as happened with the Indians of Lalima in their move to Cachoeirinha and their settlement at the place called Capão, which we have already mentioned in Chapter V.

369 It is clear that the survival of the local group in the
621 cities cannot be explained only by the "local-group consciousness." Another factor here is kinship, in combination with compadrio relations. Religion, which at first we had regarded as primordial, turned out to be a secondary or complementary factor in the grouping of these urbanized Indians into neigh-
369 borhood areas. The neighborhood groups--and we regard them
621 in the broad sense of the term--bring together indifferently
795 "Catholics" and "Believers," although these two groups tend to have separate "neighborhood lives," determined by the religious obligations of the latter, /123/ who are always more strictly controlled by their church. Nevertheless, the number of "Protestants" who live in cities is much smaller than that
● [[62]] of "Catholics." Discounting individuals without religion (5.37 per cent) and those not included (7.02 per cent), out of 242 individuals, 197 (81.40 per cent) identify themselves as Catholics and only 15 (6.19 per cent) as Protestants. And this difference between the numbers of "Catholics" and "Believers" remains more or less the same in the three cities
369 visited, when taken separately. This high number of "Catho-
621 lics" can be explained, in turn, by the reluctance of the
795 Terêna to appear to the interviewer as individuals without
771 religion, and thus not "civilizados".... The low percentage
829 of Indians in the "no religion" category, in a population with such a meager religious life--as we have already shown in the previous chapters--, can only be understood in terms of the distortion undergone by the information on being supplied by the interviewee. To declare oneself a "Catholic" is

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him in Campo Grande, he had bought a house, still tied up to estate inventory, and he was trying to salvage his money by hiring a lawyer.
[432]
[692]

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
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201. As a source of such friction, an important role is played by the politico-religious division of the community. This is proved by the large numbers of individuals channeled from Bananal and Ipegue to Campo Grande and Aquidauana. While Bananal is in first place among the aldeas, with 23.91 per cent, Ipegue in second, with 18.11 per cent, the other aldeas are most insignificant, sending, in absolute figures, one or two individuals at the most.
[798]
[655]
[184]

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas; it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the population that scattered before the creation of the native reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
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/144 cont./

*177 standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when
461 they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that
369 they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant
[511] point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with
[162] great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna, that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city. This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates
184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of
*177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work
461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not
● 162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to perform agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more
[128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed information regarding this "fazenda" population that would permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts, whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with
648 in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation
175 process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work, it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

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*177 conditions infinitely superior to those of the period of the
648 "captivity" to which the Terêna were subjected after the
125 Paraguayan war. As some of the remaining local groups were reorganized and as new communities were formed, on land protected by the federal government, the Terêna population was able to resist the highly dissociative effects of interethnic contact, especially at a time when the defensive equipment (cultural and biological) of these Indians was quite reduced and not very potent. /146/ This probably explains the phenomenon of Terêna survival, in contrast to the disappearance of the other Guaná subgroups, the Layâna and the Kinikináu, the first to be reached by the pastoral front, after considerable exposure to the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries; when the Rondon Commission arrived--a time that marks the beginning of protection, on the basis of a new ideology about the natives--these tribes had vanished completely as groups (the Layâna), or were terribly reduced (the Kinikináu), unequipped to bear the ups and downs of protection itself.

*177 Once their lands had been assured, the result of this
648 protectionist policy was segregation. Let it be noted: not a segregation imposed by the S. P. I., by direct, persuasive, or violent means; but a natural consequence of the creation of reservations, in an area where the tribal population was barbarously exploited. Not a few fazendeiros and "colonels" spoke out against the protectionist policy, because it "usurped"
*177 from them land and free labor. The Terêna believe that the
648 majority of the population that did not return to the aldeas, did
829 not because they settled on fazendas whose owners paid or
464 went on to pay adequately for native labor; accustomed to
162 the place and having guaranteed work, those Terêna--who underwent an intensive process of detribalization--chose to remain on the fazendas where they were, or else, became a mobile labor force, going from fazenda to fazenda in accordance with the oscillations of the regional labor market.

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*177 369 385 511 goes on to sell its labor at a better price is not sufficient, for both needs and expenses increase considerably, to the point that it does not pay to leave the aldeas for merely economic reasons. (210) This population is obviously prevented from

210. We saw elsewhere (Cf. 1 and 2, pp. 185-190, that there were also other forces working to attract the Terêna to the city and how they--the forces--were not sufficient to hold them there. As for the fazendas, as a place to live and to work, they do not, and indeed never did, exert attraction on the aldea or even the urbanized Terêna; if this "Terêna fazenda population" exists today, this is due to the successive political and military struggles in which the region was involved, from the Paraguayan war, leading the Terêna population to compulsory enlistment on the fazendas, at a time when native reservations had not yet been set up: this population is made up at present of survivors of the local groups scattered earlier that did not return to aldeas reorganized later. Nevertheless, this population is still identified

● 162 175

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as belonging to a specific ethnic group, as proved by the ease with which its members were identified by our informants in Aldeinha, when they gave us the total of the Terêna population living on the fazendas of the município of Aquidauana. (Cf. p. 174-176.) This, however, does not exclude assimilation into the rural neo-Brazilian population, of successive generations of interethnic mestizos, through the fazendas, which always functioned as agencies of culture change.

177 enjoying all of the advantages heralded by urban life; joining
369 the national system of stratification, the detribalized Terêna
565 begin to face those same difficulties that are common to the
poorer classes of the regional population. If we add "class
563 barriers" to "ethnic barriers," the result is a limitation of
571 associative life so as to reduce to an extraordinary degree their field of operation in the national society (rural or urban) and deters their assimilation.

361 The most important consequence of the existence of these barriers is the precarious settlement in the cities and even on the fazendas of the great majority of the detribalized Terêna.

177 A contributing factor to this, although we cannot specify to
369 what degree, are the difficulties that the Terêna meet in form-
562 ing families outside the aldeas. The reduction of the marriage
564 market, due to the lesser possibility of intra- or intertribal
563 marriage, leads the young Terêna male (more than the young girl) to seek his bride in the aldeas. On the one hand, due to the aspiration of the detribalized Terêna girls to marry a

/87 cont./

M 621 175 [361] Miranda was founded in the year 1797 by Caetano Pinto de Miranda. The topographical position taken by the Barão de Melgaco is as follows: 20° 14' south latitude, 58° 24' 16" longitude west of Paris.

M [727] [233] Miranda was raised to /the rank/ of villa on May 30, 1857. Completely destroyed in the year 1865 by the Paraguayans, the fields and houses were burned and the inhabitants who could not escape were slain; the cattle, principal wealth of this municipio, was transported, almost completely, to Paraguay, in a number in excess of 300,000 head. Those who returned in the year 1871 found Miranda thus devastated.

G M 233 162 M 361 368 The fields are excellent and are well situated for the pastoral industry. The municipio has about 15,000 inhabitants; the villa of Miranda has 78 houses with tile roofs and a good number of ranchos, /88/ in addition a church, a cemetery, two public schools for the two sexes, and a private school, "Christovão Columbo," which is divided into two sections, for the two sexes, directed by Sr. Francisco Augusto Ribeiro, and which has received the prize as second-ranking school of the primary grades in the Brazilian Republic.

G M 133 M 505 The Miranda River is very small and flows into the Paraguay River; it is navigable by craft of shallow draft; from its mouth to the villa of Miranda it is approximately 180 kilometers. The only boat which navigates this river up to Miranda is a small steamer called the Erba, which belongs to Sr. Giasone Rebna, who is the only one who sustains the municipio of Miranda with his trading. The climate is moderate, the temperature indicates on the hottest days 34° C. in the shade, and it goes down as much as five degrees; in the winter it ranges from 22° to 28° C. Miranda has extremely fertile lands for agriculture.

G M 132 G M 134 G M 135 There are minerals in great quantities, such as gold, iron, hard coal /carbón de piedra/, rock crystal, marble, malacacheta /malachite?/, which have not as yet been worked.

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[529] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

/89 cont./

766 622 428 owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited by his son, who carries on in power. /90/

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 852 Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the 622 latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique 527 holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques 628 of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his 302 entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

82 905 Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahúquethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky piphâyty; the earth piphéytó.

361 162 114 103 342 Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approximately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited, the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

342 162 621 Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest being from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is inhabited by 367 Indians.

/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.
162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or
[445] of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress, the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
796 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[22] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

/549 cont./

M 105 175 few horses, some wool-bearing animals, birds, and pigs. Take wives and children away from the Chamococos as well as the Enimás on the neighboring Paraguay. Weave fine ponchos, hammocks, carrying bands, and belts. Proud, inclined to drunkenness and thievery.]

/550/

G 105 175 7. Guanás. Village near Albuquerque and half a league from Cuyabá.

131 [162] 8. Guanás Kinikinácos. About 800 in Village I in Matto grande three leagues west of Albuquerque, Village II 200 near Miranda.

9. Guanás Terenas. Live settled in the vicinity of the garrison city (presidio) Miranda.

10. Guanás Laianas. The same.

G 105 175 [Report 1858: Guanás and Kinikinácos in the village of Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho under the excellent Brother Mariano de Bagnaia, who departed on vacation and remained in S. Paulo. They had a schoolmaster, a music teacher, and a master tailor. Terenas and Laianas in the Aldea da Villa de Miranda.

Report 1861: The Kinikinácos lived in the judicial district of Albuquerque, three leagues from the city, in the village of Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho long before the establishment of the Directoria. The latter sought to create order through the mission of Frei Mariano. For the Terenas, Laianas, and Guachis -- numbering 2500 -- a settlement was established on 30 April 1860 one league from the Villa de Miranda. (This contradicts the report of 1858.)]

Gi 105 175 11. Guaxis. A tribe almost extinct. Conditions similar to those of the Guanás and Guaycurus of Miranda, where they likewise live.

GO 105 175 [131] GO [501] 12. Guatós. On the right Paraguay bank and on the lagoons of the upper mouth of the Paraguay-merim to a little below Escalvado, also on the S. Lourenço and Cuyabá mouth. During the rainy season in the flooded campo region. Build small and low huts, during the day remain in the canoes, which are very well constructed, are small and fast. Sometimes one sees a